basis. After 1926 Latvia even made an attempt to regain for her manufacturing industries some part of the Soviet market, but her success was shortlived.

The relative importance of the various manufacturing industries in Estonia and Latvia can be seen from the following table:

TABLE 21. *Number of Workmen Employed in Manufacturing Industries in 1926.**

Industry	*Estonia*	*Latvia*
Textile	8,919	5,935
Wood-working	4,389	10,061
Metallurgical	3,758	8,406
Paper and printing	3,349	5,132
Foodstuffs	1,916	3,543
Chemical	835	3,433
Other	2,083	3,160
Total	25,849	49,672

* *Estonian Year Book* for 1929, p. 108; Bilmanis, op. cit., p. 67. The figures are not strictly comparable, for the Estonian figures relate only to firms employing more than 20, or 85 per cent. of the total; moreover, it is not known whether the designations exactly correspond. They do, however, form a rough basis for comparison.

The annual value of industrial production in these countries rose to a considerable figure during the period; in 1926 it is estimated that the figure for Estonia's manufacturing industries was 98·8 million kr., or about 137 million Swiss francs, and that of Latvia as much as 311 million Swiss francs. Most, if not all, of the more important industries were located in Riga and Tallinn, with the exception of the Narva textile industry, and the shale-oil industry between Narva and Tallinn. No new industrial centres of any size were developed during these years, owing largely to the lack of capital and efficient communications. For the most part the size of the individual enterprises was small, and nearly all were dependent directly or indirectly upon the banking system for their finance, though in some cases the co-operative system and even the State were directly interested. Power was provided mainly by imported fuel, though peat was often used, and, in Estonia, shale-oil.[1]

Latvia. The timber industry was the most important branch of manufacture during the period. The timber used was very largely of Latvian origin, though Russian timber was occasionally handled. The most important section consisted of sawmills, but there were also several veneer and boxboard factories. The industry worked very largely for export oversea. Closely connected with the timber industries were the paper and pulping branches, also the cellulose

[1] However, the production of electricity in the principal plants of the five most important towns of Estonia increased from 8 to 22 million kwh. between 1923 and 1929.

438 chains, and other similar articles. Such industrial plant as there was
[727] suffered severely from the War; buildings were destroyed, machinery was carried off, and any liquid capital confiscated.

433 During the period 1918–31 there was no fundamental change in
727 the industrial structure of Lithuania proper. The period was largely one of reconstruction; and it was possible in many cases to renew plant lost in the War by the use of foreign credits. Production was to some extent assisted by tariffs, but little, if any, attempt was made to obtain a place in foreign markets. The industrial capacity of the country as a whole was, however, substantially increased by the addition to Lithuania proper of the Memel territory, for Memel
● [464] possesses considerable industries such as sawmills, &c.;[1] and by 1928 it was estimated[2] that altogether about 40,000 persons were employed in manufacturing industry throughout Lithuania and the Memel Territory. As compared with the respective figures for Estonia and Latvia, this figure is small when the very much larger population of Lithuania is borne in mind. In all there were 7,250 undertakings classified as industrial enterprises, of which only 75 employed 50 or more workmen.

II. FOREIGN TRADE AND BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 1919–30

1. General Observations

439 During the years 1919–30 these countries had to deal with peculiar difficulties in developing their foreign trade. Not only did the period of actual hostilities last until 1922, but the creation of three new independent States required the organization of three separate economic units. In Estonia and Latvia, it is true, there existed a rough basis, consisting of the commercial communities of Tallinn and Riga,[3] on which it was possible to build the necessary organization, since these ports had been two of the most considerable foreign trading centres of the Russian Empire. In Lithuania, however, there was no such organization at all, for until 1918 the territories forming that State had been more or less self-supporting, and Lithuania's foreign trade had to be created, as it were, out of a vacuum. In the event, the development of foreign trade in the Baltic States during

[1] See above, p. 102.

[2] *Lithuania, 1928*, edited by E. J. Harrison, London, 1928, p. 178.

[3] Before the War Riga had been mainly an export centre; Reval (Tallinn) an import centre. After the War this position was reversed. Riga's imports greatly exceeded her exports, while exports from Tallinn generally exceeded imports (1913 figures):

	Imports	*Exports*
Riga .	. £19,000,000	£23,000,000
Reval .	. £10,000,000	£2,400,000

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(b) TOTAL OF PIGS[1]
(In thousands)

	Estonia†	Latvia	Lithuania
Year 1913 . . .	275	557	1,358
„ 1930 . . .	290	533	1,136
„ 1936 . . .	379*	674	1,210

† 1913–14. * 1937.

439 234 231 More than half of the butter exports from these three countries, and practically all the bacon exports, are now taken by the United Kingdom.[2] It seems to follow that the United Kingdom is gradually assuming towards the Baltic States responsibilities very similar to those she has already assumed in the case of Denmark. As will be seen, the sterling received for the Baltic States' exports of bacon and butter is of vital importance to the exchange position.

5. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

433 471 The principal change in the industrial system since the crisis has been the need, already mentioned, to save foreign exchange by manufacturing inside the country as far as possible what was formerly imported. The policy has been pushed furthest, largely at the instigation of the State, in Latvia and Estonia, for in these two countries the industrial apparatus required for such an experiment was to a considerable extent already in existence. In Lithuania, however, this was not the case, and industrial self-sufficiency has consequently made far less progress than in the other two countries, although when and where it has been possible advances have been made in this direction. But, in each case, the degree to which this policy can succeed is strictly limited by the fact that all three countries lack not only the essential raw materials of industry such as coal, iron, non-ferrous metals, rubber, cotton, and wool, but also the capital required for attempting the expensive process of manufacturing substitutes.

The progress made by industrialization in Estonia and Latvia can best be judged from Table 38 opposite.

● 464 438 The increase of workers employed in the textile trade, in which some degree of self-sufficiency is perhaps easiest to achieve, will be noted. The increase of workers employed in 'other' industries in Estonia is due largely to the activity of the shale industry, since at the end of 1937 the extractive industries were employing about 4,500 persons; this also accounts largely for the increase in 'chemicals'. Included in 'other industries' are also nearly 3,000 persons engaged

[1] Pre-war figures for Estonia and Latvia relate to a somewhat smaller area than that of the present States.

[2] Figures are given in footnote on p. 156.

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TABLE 38. *Number of Workmen Employed in Manufacturing Industries*[1]

Industries	Estonia (enterprises employing 20 or more workers only)		Latvia (all workers)	
	1926	1937 (end)	1926	1937 (end)
Textiles	8,919	12,024	5,935	18,394
Woodworking	4,389	3,567	10,061	12,758
Metallurgical	3,758	6,384	8,408	19,541
Paper and printing	3,349	3,909	5,132	6,801
Foodstuffs	1,916	3,284	6,543	16,648
Chemical	835	2,831	3,433	5,182
Other	2,683	12,584	8,160	25,655
Total	25,849	44,583	49,672	104,979

in construction. In Latvia the increase in 'other' industries is chiefly due to the growth of activity in the clothing trade, employing over 13,000 at the end of 1937, and in building.

So far as the volume of industrial production is concerned, some indication as to developments in these two countries can be obtained from the following figures:

TABLE 39. *Indices of Industrial Production*

(1930 = 100, average for year)

	All commodities		Capital goods		Consumption goods	
	Estonia	Latvia	Estonia	Latvia	Estonia	Latvia
1930	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
1931	92·0	82·0	92·6	83·0	91·3	80·1
1932	79·3	75·7	78·1	53·4	78·4	78·1
1933	83·0	102·7	81·2	63·8	81·5	109·3
1934	97·7	119·8	106·3	83·3	91·5	126·9
1935	107·8	126·1	114·9	88·0	101·6	134·3
1936	121·6	131·5	133·0	103·7	112·5	138·3
1937	140·5	147·8	174·1	121·0	119·5	151·3

Estonia. Developments in Estonia's manufacturing industry since 1930 were subject to the general considerations mentioned above. Additional stimulus to industry was given by the introduction of severe import restrictions in the autumn of 1931 and of the control of the foreign exchanges. Moreover, the abandonment of the gold standard in June 1933 made it cheaper to buy raw materials abroad and to manufacture the finished article in the country than to import finished goods; and this greatly increased the development of industry. Finally, the increase in the purchasing power of the agricultural population, owing to the higher prices prevailing since 1935, led

[1] For the sources for the 1926 figures see note to Table 21, p. 117; the figures for 1937 are taken from *Eesti Statistika* for February 1938, and *Mõnela Biletins* for March 1938.